1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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102 Fig. 64 shows the distribution in Malta of Maltese Dockyard workers by
464 residence as a proportion of the total regional populations. The zones of con-
504 centration are centred on the Three Cities, and the great importance of Dock-
yard employment in the North-East as a whole, a phenomenon more than a
century old (19), is clear. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the much
[361] smaller association of Dockyard employment with the belt of urban settlement
which stretches from Valletta westwards to Lija. Conversely, the northern third
of the Island, most recently settled and still relatively sparsely populated, has
very little indeed to do with Grand Harbour. Gozo, still more remote, had but
25 Dockyard workers. Some 417 English workers were employed in the Dockyard
most of them living in the suburban residential areas west of Valletta, 75 per
cent. in contiguous Sliema, St. Julians and Gżira.

Thus we see the one part of the climax of that change in Malta which, com-
mencing in the sixteenth century, swung the economic centre of gravity from
the Centre to the North-East. During the last century the new conurbation
● [494] extended its grip on the rest of the Island. Police Traffic Records (20) show
part of this effect; on the 5th February, 1958, a normal day, 28 special buses,
in addition to public transport, carried 930 Dockyard employees to work from
a zone extending to Birżebbuġa, Żurrieq, Siġġiewi, Dingli, Rabat, Mosta and
north-eastwards to St. Julians.

Here we have reason and space only for the briefest of notes on current
185 economic conditions. For more complete statements the reader is referred to
504 the recent publications of the Maltese Department of Trade and Industry. As
a result of Britain's reappraisal of her strategic needs, the old Naval Dockyard
was handed over to a civilian firm by April 1959. Some emotional reaction has

rather obscured the simultaneous mounting of a five-year Economic Development Plan. This is aimed at the establishment of manufacturing industries and envisages the expenditure of over £33,000,000, the bulk of which is to be contributed by the United Kingdom. Internal Legislation under the Aids to Industries Ordinance XXI of 1959 offers attractive terms to immigrant and local enterprises. At Marsa, an Industrial Estate is rapidly being built, public utilities are being extended and facilities for technical and craft training improved. Completion is expected in 1961 of the first commercial deep-water quays, complete with storage and handling facilities. Several British business interests have already responded to these new attractions. 185 504

However, the fundamental characteristics of the Maltese economy and society remain, and the whole complex of resources, appraisal of resources and social needs and demands must be appreciated before effective forces of change will appear.

As a last short study we turn to the development of communications and public transport in the Maltese Islands, which is of significance for two main reasons. First, in the pattern that has appeared we can see the interplay of all those forces, Imperial and indigenous, which have affected Maltese life. Secondly, although the Islands are small, distance and remoteness are everywhere measured mentally as well as physically, and the impact of modern transport has revolutionised Maltese life. The road pattern in Malta is complex and generally ancient (Fig. 68). It is impossible to categorise past and present roads sufficiently precisely to show cartographically the changes that have taken place and description must necessarily be brief. As shown in Worsley's survey of 1824 (21), the main alignments were then concentrated in the central region. Away from the grid-plan streets of Valletta and the less geometrical Three Cities (22), cart and carriage roads ran out to the main casals (within the zone referred to above as now served by Dockyard special buses) and inter-connected most of the rural centres. That part of the Island north of the Victoria Lines was poorly served. In Gozo, country tracks connected the villages with the inland capital of Rabat which in turn had a carriage road to the port of Mgarr. 491

By 1911 (23) traffic had increased considerably, particularly within a four-mile radius of Valletta, and the Royal Commissioners of that year ventured to question on financial grounds the need for maintaining the very large mileage of the dense central and eastern network of roads, most of which as the result of long customary use and evolution were of equal status although often strictly unnecessary. The northern and southern coastlands were still served only by a few 'feeder lines' from interior settlements, but with the bridging of the Isperansa gorge at Mosta, that town had become a route focus for the whole of the northern territory and henceforward began to rival Rabat. Military needs had resulted in improvements being made to some roads but, more important still, had called into being in 1881 a railway running from Valletta to Rabat, and later extended expensively to the camp and hospital at Mtarfa. By 1911 the operating loss had become so great as to warrant special inquiry by the Commission. The failure was due partly to the fact that the system had not been designed on commercial lines, partly because the total demand for transport was still relatively small in the areas served, but mainly because a railway service could not be flexible enough to meet the particular demand that did exist. In 1905 a tramway system, less open to objection on all these grounds, was opened. First the area between Valletta, Marsa and Hamrun was served, and later lines were built to Żebbug. Designed for passenger rather than freight carrying, the tramways assisted in the extension of urban influence into the country. Then as now, however, that indented coastal configuration to which Malta owes her natural harbours, and around which resides the majority of the island's population, made land communication in the conurbation area tortuous and lengthy. Innumerable ferries and the *dghajjes* boats in Marsamxett and Grand Harbour offered more convenient carriage. 496 [505]

During and after World War I, motor vehicles made their appearance and the railroad and tramways rapidly disappeared leaving as sole traces of their 494

[See P. 184- Anb--Analyst]

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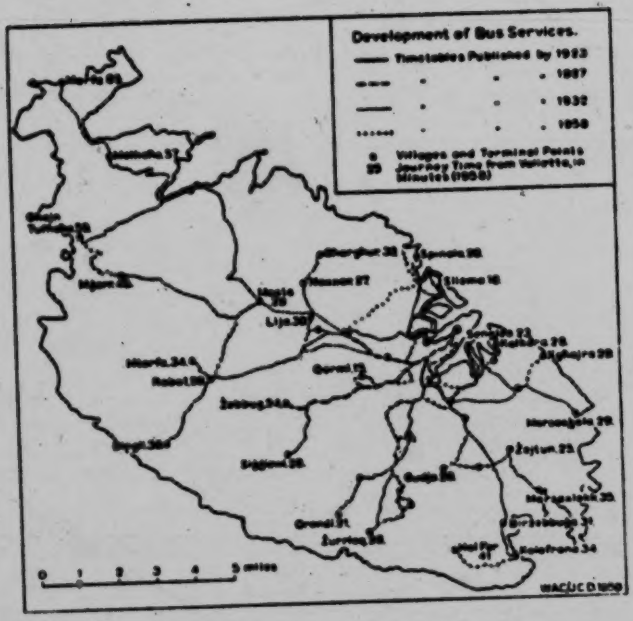

Fig. 65 Development of Bus Services.

494 existence field alignments, small bridges and 'permanent ways' soon absorbed into the weave of country lanes. With the coming of the car, lorry and bus there rapidly appeared differentials in the importance of the many roads. During the last 40 years, new motor roads have been built, such as that traversing Wied-tal-Pwales for military purposes, or the coast road between Salinas and St. Andrews for military and civil use, and recent alignment changes have been made to make more suitable for modern economic needs some old routes. In Gozo as in Malta this has led to the strengthening of importance of the capitals, and in the latter island to the appearance of true communication centres such as Mosta. At the same time the relative remoteness of those regions off the main highways has been increased.

The duality of the nature of these changes is well exemplified by the development of the public bus services (Fig. 65). In March 1959 there were 20,181 licensed vehicles of which over 13,000 were private cars and taxis, almost 4,000 lorries and vans and some 600 buses. These last play an essential part in Maltese life. In September 1922 (24), the first official recognition of the existence of buses plying for hire took the form of regulating tariffs by mileage. By September 1923 the boom in this new transport sector was such that further regulations had to be introduced. Operating permits were obligatory, certain minimum services required, and the order of departure of the competing buses regulated. At this time the recognised services only extended between Valletta and Sliema, making four stops in all, with a legal maximum of 50 buses a day. Later in 1923 this was extended to St. Julians, and until 1927 there is no mention of service extension outside this suburban zone, although by the latter date the number of buses per day had risen to over 150. In 1927, the first great extension

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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occurred, linking Zebbug, Birkirkara and Kospikwa with Valletta. Even so, and as detailed regulations make it clear, the bus services were still designed for commuters. Significantly enough, each route extension was largely pioneered by newcomers to the business, and to this day, public road transport remains a matter of so regulating traffic that many small independent units can just pay their way. There seems to be no inclination either to develop or to encourage the formation of larger economic units.

In 1930, timetables were published first for services between Valletta and Mellieha via Mosta and St. Paul's Bay, and later between Kospikwa and Marsaskala. A separate Valletta-Mosta service also began operations. During the two following years, timetable recognition was given to other services which it seems were already operating and by the end of 1932 most of the services now in existence were then operating. Although the issue of timetables does not necessarily accurately date the commencement of services it does denote their firm establishment and as such is of considerable significance. As can be seen from Fig. 65, all routes lead to Valletta (see too p. 185) and Old Malta of the casals has become dominated by the conurbation. Not only are there few services inter-connecting the townships and villages but large areas in the West and North have either no bus service or have very limited services as, for example, Mgarr. The radial nature of the services is an obvious commentary on economy and society in Malta today; more than this it further exaggerates differences in accessibility as between regions and villages. It is no accident that Mgarr is the most agricultural of all settlements.

We can leave this brief selective examination of economic aspects of Maltese life with this last picture of the mechanically varied fleet of buses in their 15 vividly coloured regional liveries. As they pound noisily about the Island, they epitomise the uneasy mobility, the jerky breaking down of old parochialisms that is modern Malta.

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2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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of new associations in the village and the increased activity of political parties.

During the mid-'fifties emigration drained away many of the most active supporters of the partiti. In 1954 alone, no fewer than two dozen men between 18 and 38 left the village for Australia and Canada. Each club lost key bandsmen, and the two bands, already heavily bolstered with outside players, never recovered. A constantly improving bus service enabled young men to go to the 'talkies' in other villages, or just stroll up and down Kingsway in Valletta – a very popular pastime with young people from all over Malta – instead of spending the evening in their village clubs. During this period the Football Club, MUSEUM and Catholic Action were established in the village and began to draw potential partit leaders into other spheres of activity. The Football Club was particularly damaging in this respect. As a neutral social club it provided a place where the young men of the two partiti, who normally never entered one another's clubs, could meet. A number of friendships developed between them, and it soon became the most popular club in the village. Finally, the increased activity of the national political parties during the elections in 1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955 drew the attention of the villagers away from purely parochial concerns and bound them up in rivalries of a different order, which often cut across traditional allegiances. This created factions within the clubs and weakened the partiti.

Rivalry flared up again in 1960, when the supporters of St. Martin, intent upon celebrating the centenary of their patron, staged the greatest festa in the history of the village. But the political and religious fervour of the 1961 election campaign soon captured the attention of the partisans, and the festa of the following year was a pale shadow of the gala spectacle of the year before.

Before proceeding any further, we must unravel the rather complicated tangle of partit, club and confraternity. All festa partiti are composed of three groups: (i) the band club, which provides the leadership of the partit and includes most of the active male supporters, many of whom are also members of (ii) the confraternity allied with the partit or dedicated to its patron, and (iii) the rank and file of men, women and children who are members neither of the confraternity nor of the club, but still support the partit against its rival. The central strand running through all

[Village of Mgarr]

By The mid-Thirties Mgarr had 11.

175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
[365] levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[491] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most construction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity of the village destroying two houses and killing three people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mgarr prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed not far away. Mgarr heard about the war and experienced as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
[241] control of production put the farmers of Mgarr in as strong a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mgarr had acquired the normal characteristics of community life of village Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
[794] expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
[544] appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of the countryside, further swell the range of goods available on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
[494] Mgarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[178] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mgarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement in the village - though it is notably active there, and of the Confraternities which are numerous in the older settlements Mgarr has only three (Appendix 4).

[village of Gharghur]
[village of Zurrieq] 13.

36 include such atypically rural features as ground-floor windows[16]. In Mġarr the Church and the Jubilee Esplanade are at the centre of village organization with most of the shops, police station and dispensary close by, and through this central area pass the bus routes from Ghajn Tuffieha, to the north, and Mosta to the east. Gharghur, on the other hand, is a village of many centuries standing. Its morphology is as irregular as that of Mġarr is regular. As [171] one expects of a Maltese village the great Parish Church stands in the centre of the houses and the narrow streets - just as the Faith of the people stands in the centre of their life and work. The old streets of Gharghur grew up without any town-planning. Narrow alleys lead off to quiet courts; goat-pens, tiny shops and houses within yards of each other break the monotony of the streets in which few windows appear at ground-floor level[16]. First floor windows are seen, along with decorative balcony work and other embellishments of the yellow limestone walls. Map 6 distinguishes those parts of the village which have undergone new development, largely since 1945. The main part [491] of the work has been the cutting of a section of new road through old buildings between the Church and the recent • [494] Government school. This road now carries the bus route from the Church square, the terminus, to Naxxar, and also houses the police station and the Government dispensary. Here then is the core area of the village (Map 6)

(i) a main street, carrying a regular bus route,
(ii) Church, police station, dispensary and school,
(iii) shops and bars nearby.

Turning again to Mġarr we now perceive the basic similarities of pattern (Maps 5 and 6).

In the case of ŻURRIEQ (Map 7) the same basic elements appear, though the built-up area of this village is much larger and there are additional, more urbanate, features. Bubaqra is an example of a dependent hamlet lacking the full complement of features of an independent village; it has no school, police station, etc. Żurrieq's morphological development follows the general pattern of the long-established Maltese villages with narrow, twisting streets and alleys delving seemingly at random into the built-up mass of houses, farm buildings, shops and work premises. The village is large enough to allow of secondary nuclei, particularly around churches or chapels, but the bulk of activity is focussed on the core area between Parish Church and School and in and near Churchill Square with its Band Club and Football Club premises, Lotto office[17], and shops.

178 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy
241 cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator
234 in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is
512 secondary and then based primarily on the production of fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the family.

512 Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine.
527 Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be
796 milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en
[241] fête and to Church. A procession of religious images,
[234] members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working
[178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the
[575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band Clubs have lost for them something of their position of fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of
[461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both
796 men and women can share in the religious and social aspects.
562 The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the
575 past hundred years have however been solidly masculine (B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are
517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds, gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U. collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti'
517 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday
443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital
[184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern
[494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little inter-village transport (B/381).

178 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above,
241 whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people) is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at all possible from following in the footsteps of their fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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although the Maltese form was probably dictated by the need to cover the head when entering a church. Its one drawback is that it takes up a lot of space, more space, unfortunately, than is available in the motor-bus, modern Malta's form of land transport. Let it be hoped that it will survive these disabilities, for it is not only unique but also an asset if those of the younger generation who have abandoned it in favour of the banal dress of everywhere else would only realize the fact, enhancing beauty while discreetly veiling any imperfections. These young ladies should ponder the words of Monsieur André Maurois in his little sketch of Malta:

> When its wearer moves, the *faldetta* is filled with air, and the Maltese girls, tripping in twos and threes along the streets, look like flotillas of graceful barques with black sails, blown along their course by the wind of destiny.

Oddly enough another French visitor and Academician anticipated by just a century, and in almost the same terms, Monsieur Maurois's charming flight, or perhaps echo, of fancy. Monsieur de Lamartine, visiting Malta with his English wife in 1832, describes the *ghonnella* as

> a half-cloak of black silk . . . of a light texture caught by a breeze, suggesting the sail of a skiff whose capricious folds alternately conceal and reveal the mysterious figure of the wearer, which seems able to escape at will from its embrace.

In the Malta of an earlier age, when the lives of Maltese women and girls were closely circumscribed, the *ghonnella* was not the only aid to their seclusion. Those who wander about the country districts will notice here and there that the older farmhouses have no windows giving on to the street; the Maltese countrywoman, like her Spanish sister, had to turn her face inward, not outward. But what the houses had, and some still retain, were stone brackets on the outer wall, made to hold the pots of sweet basil which showed that